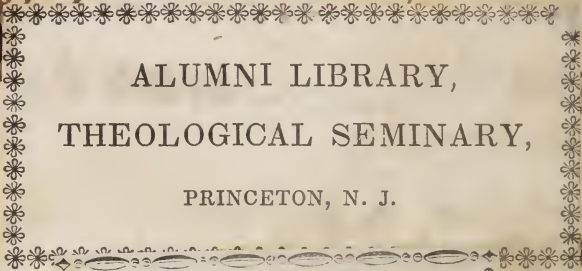


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THE
AFRICAN REPOSITORY

AND

COLONIAL JOURNAL.

VOL. XI.

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VOL. XI.]

JANUARY, 1835.

[No. 1.

THE COLONY.

By the Ruth and the Sarah Priscilla, which arrived recently, the former at New York, and the latter at Norfolk, intelligence from the Colony as late as the middle of October last, has been received.—Mr. PINNEY, the Colonial Agent, in his letter of September 4, mentions his having been afflicted by illness so long and severe, that he was obliged to withdraw from public business, and to commit the charge of the Society's property to Dr. Skinner. In consequence of his situation, the building of the mill and store was suspended. His letter of September 21, relates principally to the death of John Burns, an emigrant, from an act of imprudence in blasting a rock. As Burns was engaged on work for the Society, Mr. P. had directed his funeral expenses to be paid from the Agency funds, which he hopes the Board will approve.

Mr. P. adds, that the store, to be built of stone, is under contract, and if nothing occurs to hinder its progress, will be speedily ready for covering. Until the store is finished, he states, the Colony has to allow Mr. M'Gill \$18 a month for storing the goods brought in the Jupiter, the old store being unsafe.

In his letter of October 4, dated at Millsburg, he notices some insubordinate proceedings which had followed his retirement from the Agency. He had then returned to Monrovia, and the disquietude had abated. Preparations were in progress for locating the Albany settlement near Millsburg, which would soon be ready to receive the settlers.

His last letter is dated October 13, in which he states that the departure of the Ruth is the first opportunity of writing to the Board, that had occurred since the departure of the Argus in June last.

Dr. McDowall and Mr. Searl were then suffering under attacks of fever. Dr. Skinner and Mr. C. H. Webb have neither of them yet been sick, though incessant in their visits and attendance on the sick.

At the time of the arrival of the *Jupiter*, (on the last day of July) Mr. P. states, that he was too much weakened by sickness to transact any public business, and the Vice-Agent, Mr. McGill, had for some time attended to the affairs of the Agency. But by the medical skill of Dr. Skinner, the attention of Mr. Finley, and the removal of other causes which he believes contributed to his sickness, his health of body and strength of mind have been restored, and he had resumed the public business until a successor shall arrive. Nothing, he adds, but a sense of public duty, could have induced him to have remained in office: and, as it is, he says "I have empowered Dr. Skinner to transact a large portion of the public business, that I may be left at leisure to recover my former health, and to make preparations for a Missionary station."

Mr. P. states, that he has appointed Dr. Skinner to remain Physician at Monrovia, and directed Dr. Todsén to proceed to Bassa, unless inclined to return to America.

The intention of the Resolution of the Board relating to the support of the Agent and Physician, has been a matter of doubt and dispute; and also the extent of the Vice-Agent's powers as to general superintendence in certain cases. It has also been questioned whether the appointment of superintendents of settlements and clerks, belongs to the Agent's powers. Also whether dwelling-houses, or apartments are to be furnished to the several Physicians employed in the Colony, and whether their travelling expenses are to be borne? It is also doubted when the regulations of the Board entered into last January, but not received in the Colony till the 1st of August, ought to take effect.

Mr. P. states, that he has agreed to allow to Mr. McGill a compensation at the rate of \$500 per annum for three months, during which Mr. McGill acted as Agent, and paid that amount to him, with directions for it to be charged upon the Colonial books to Mr. P.'s private account.

Mr. P. observes, that the Secretary had been directed to make out the Colonial accounts, and forward them with full vouchers to the Board at Washington. Some of the items, he says, are large, swelled by the system of charges pursued in the public store. The utmost economy, he adds, has been studied, unless the erection of a public store, without waiting for instructions from the Board, may be considered improper.

The schooner *Margaret Mercer*, Mr. P. states, has been found so worm-eaten, that a new keel is necessary. A new mast is preparing to replace one of the old ones, judged unsafe. It was intended to have sent the schooner to the U. States, under the care of the crew of the *Jupiter* (which ship has been cast away); but it was found impossible to get her ready in time. Captain Knapp and his crew returned in the *Ruth*. They have been supplied with rations from the public store, which, said he, "I have, as their Agent, charged to the United States."

Mr. P. says that the small Agency notes, and cents, intended as a currency for the Colony, and which the despatches from the Board mentioned as being sent out by the *Jupiter* were, by some oversight,

lost, or never sent.* This currency, Mr. P. observes, would be very convenient, and will, he trusts, be replaced, as the want of such a medium is very severely felt. It would save the expense of conveying, from place to place, canwood and other heavy articles, to make small payments.

Mr. P. regrets that the Council have passed an ordinance to suspend the public schools. They have lately been managed with so little success, that they have been suspended until some better plan can be devised. It is supposed that the appointment of Committees by the people to select teachers, with the power of removing them, would remove most of the evils complained of.

The desire of the Board relative to the New-York settlement, is not yet accomplished; but will be attended to as soon as Dr. McDowall's health will allow him to devote himself to this object.

The lots which this Board directed to be laid off in the Colony, Mr. P. says, will soon be ready to receive ten families. Dr. Skinner is sanguine in his expectations in relation to the good effects which will be produced by this measure, both in preserving life, and in promoting the general prosperity of the Colony.

Mr. P. closes his letter, with reiterating his desire that a successor to the Agency may be speedily appointed.

Dr. SKINNER, under date of August 21, writes that he arrived on the first of August, and found Mr. Pinney in a very critical state of health. By prudent and careful attention, however, he got better, and was for eight days without fever; but from some exertion and getting wet, he had a relapse. Dr. S. found so many persons afflicted with the diseases of the climate, that himself, Dr. McDowall, and Mr. Webb, had been almost constantly employed since their arrival. He found numbers suffering for want of the comforts of life; some from sickness, and others for want of employment. Three things, he states, are necessary to remedy these evils; first, proper medical attention; secondly, good and wholesome diet: and thirdly, cleanliness. If, the Doctor adds, provisions, soap and bandages be placed under his control, nothing, on his part, shall be wanting to furnish the medical attention necessary. The Doctor is of opinion that emigrants, on their arrival, ought to be put upon the lands to which they will be entitled, instead of being placed in receptacles, or hospitals; as, though their dwelling might be indifferent, they would be better satisfied, and, instead of being idle, might, when their health would permit, be employed in clearing their ground, and planting a few vegetables for their support.

The Doctor also thinks it proper, that every emigrant should be provided with booties; as after undergoing the fever, the least scratch, if unattended to, is apt to produce a bad ulcer. And he also advises, in order to keep the females employed, that cards, wheels and

* As these Agency notes were carefully packed in a box, and transmitted to the care of Mr. Thomas Bell, the Agent of the Board at New York, the receipt of which was acknowledged by him, it is hoped, when the cargo of the Jupiter, at present stowed away in Mr. McGill's warehouse, comes to be examined, it will be found.—ED. REPOS.

looms, should be furnished them; and, until it shall be raised in sufficient quantity in the Colony, cotton also.

The Doctor's second letter is dated the 30th of August. Two of their little band, Dr. M'Dowall and Miss Sharp, have passed through the primary attack of the fever in the most favorable manner. The rest are well. Mr. Searl has to-day been engaged in breaking a pair of steers—a novel sight in Monrovia. The Dr. states, that he has, thus far, been very successful in managing the diseases of the climate. He has no doubt that he has saved several lives by the decided and bold use of the lancet.

The Dr. states that Mr. Pinney's health is much improved, though it is yet such as to make it necessary he should relinquish the business of the Agency for the present. He has transferred the charge of the Society's property to Dr. S. The Dr. observes that there has been a great change in the Colonial officers at the late annual election, and says that he feels great delicacy in entering upon the duties of the important and responsible station which he has undertaken; but with the advice of Mr. Pinney and Mr. Finley, and with a heart sincerely devoted to the interests of the Colony, he trusts they will not greatly suffer in his hands.

The Dr. states, that he has found the state of society at Monrovia much better than he expected. "I have been," he adds, "here a month, and have visited most of the houses in town, and have observed great order and propriety amongst the inhabitants. An election and three days of public muster, have taken place within this period, and I have not heard a profane word from any one. I have seen but two persons disguised in liquor in the time. There is as strict regard paid to the Sabbath here as in any place in which I ever lived. In my intercourse with the people, I have not had a drop of spirits offered to me, nor seen them used by others, nor do I see any evils here that are not remediable, nor any thing to discourage the friends of Colonization, or to dishearten the Christian Philanthropist. Though God may try our faith, he will fulfil his word, and I have not the least doubt but this Colony will be one of the points from which the Gospel will be extensively and permanently spread on this great Continent."

In a letter dated September 26, Dr. Skinner refers to the dissatisfaction which had been occasioned by Mr. Pinney's having placed the public property in his charge. The cause of it was removed by the Agent's return to Monrovia and resumption of his official duties.

Five of the emigrants in the *Argus* died of small-pox on the passage, leaving forty-nine; thirteen of which have since died—two more are not expected to survive—and three others are very sick.—Dr. S. states that he has not prescribed for any of the emigrants by the *Argus* till that day.

Dr. Skinner says that he perfectly concurs in the views of Mr. Pinney in favor of erecting the Saw-mill, and a substantial Store, and also in relation to a Public Farm. He intends shortly to remove to Caldwell most of those persons in Monrovia who are subsisting on the stores of the Society, that they may be employed on the farm, or in spinning and weaving cotton.

Millsburg, the Dr. observes, is as healthy a place as can be found in that climate, except on the top of some mountain. There are, in the vicinity, mountains elevated two or three hundred feet above the village, which would be a good situation for a Medical and High School. There are two families in Millsburg, each consisting of nine persons, who were amongst the first settlers, all alive and well. They all passed through the fever without a Physician or medicine. Fourteen of the emigrants brought out by the Ajax, from Orleans, settled in Millsburg, and are all living but one.

The Dr. is of opinion that every part of the Colony may be rendered more healthy, and that nothing but industrious perseverance is wanting to overcome the obstacles which at present obstruct the prosperity of the Colony. We want, he observes, a virtuous and industrious people; their lands fenced with ditches and living hedges; means of cultivating the soil by the plough, and of conveying burdens by land without being carried by natives; communications opened from village to village; and a spirit of improved agriculture spread amongst the people. We want also, a breakwater on the north beach; a direct road to the Society's store; a small steamboat in the river; a good building at Millsburg for a public school, and other schools with good teachers, and Missionary establishments spread over the surrounding country. The work of civilizing and evangelizing Africa would then proceed with rapidity.

The Dr. adds, ample resources for all these objects might be drawn from the benevolent and Christian public of America, if they could be impressed with a just view of the great work.

Dr. Skinner's last letter, is dated October 15, in which he says, it is a fact, that vastly more men than women are carried off by the diseases of this climate, and more women than children. Hence it arises that the Colony has so large a number of orphan children—many of whom are almost destitute of clothing, and are too much neglected in other respects. The Dr. supposes there are two women to one man in the Colony, many of whom, being without employment, find it difficult to obtain the means of living. These evils, he justly remarks, call for a remedy. He advises that no more aged females, or young unmarried ones, without some male protector, be hereafter sent to the Colony; that cotton, and the means of manufacturing it, be forwarded by the first opportunity, that the idle may have no excuse, and the vicious no cloak for their sins.

Such orphan children as are a charge on the Colony, the Dr. recommends should be placed in the long house at Caldwell, and be fed, clothed and educated, until of a proper age to go out to service, or to learn a trade, or in special cases, to be completely educated.

If any class of the community, more than another, deserves the commiseration and assistance of the benevolent, says the Doctor, it is orphans, and in no country do they need it more, than in Liberia.—“May God grant the Board,” says Dr. S. “directing wisdom and means, and furnish them with Agents to carry into effect all their benevolent purposes, and the Colony will be safe, and Africa redeemed.”

In reference to supplies sent by the Board to the Colony, the Dr. advises that less flour and meal (which is always injured by keeping) and more beef, fish and pork be forwarded. Hams, dried beef, sugar and tea should be sent in sufficient quantity for those in the Society's employ, and for the use of the sick.

Besides the suggestions noticed in the foregoing abstract, others of importance to the Colony are contained in the last despatches from Mr. Pinney and Dr. Skinner. The action of the Managers on these subjects was prompt, and will be noticed hereafter.

From the Liberia Herald of September 26, we copy the following returns of the recent Colonial elections and appointments:

OFFICIAL RETURNS.

WHEREAS the following named persons have been returned as duly elected to the several offices opposite to which their names are affixed;

Nathaniel Brander, *Vice Agent*.

COUNCILLORS.

John Day, Jos. J. Roberts, *for Monrovia*.

T. Pritchard, M. A. White, *for Caldwell*.

Philip Moore, *for Millsburg*.

John Hanson, *for Edina*.

Wm. N. Lewis, *High Sheriff*.

Jacob D. Preston, *Treasurer*.

J. W. Prout, *Register of Deeds*.

CENSORS.

J. C. Ross, J. W. Barbour, *for Monrovia*.

Mat. Brown, Benj. Lawrence, *for Caldwell*.

Willis Peal, Jesse Kennedy, *for Millsburg*.

H. W. Duncan, W. C. Buras, *for Edina*.

COMMITTEE OF HEALTH.

Charles Butler, S. W. Wheeler, *for Monrovia*.

P. Pritchard, S. J. White, *for Caldwell*.

Joseph Outlin, C. Willis, *for Millsburg*.

Davis White, Wilson Duncan, *for Edina*.

COMMITTEE OF AGRICULTURE.

James Cotton, R. Matthews, *for Monrovia*.

Caleb J. Cox, J. Nixon, *for Caldwell*.

R. Boone, Tabb Smith, *for Millsburg*.

J. B. Winder, E. Nutter, *for Edina*.

COMMITTEE OF SCHOOLS.

John B. Russwurm, John Revey.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, JOHN B. PINNEY, Agent of the American Colonization Society, do hereby command and enjoin all the inhabitants of this Colony, to respect them in their respective stations, and yield implicit obedience to all their legally authorised official acts.

Done at Monrovia, this thirtieth day of August, Anno Domini, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-four.

JOHN B. PINNEY,
Agent American Colonization Society.

APPOINTMENTS BY THE AGENT.

John B. Russwurm, *Colonial Secretary*.

E. Johnson, *Agency Store Keeper*.

COLLECTORS OF CUSTOMS.

Hilary Teage, *for Monrovia*.

Nathaniel Harris, *for Edina*.

John Revey, *Colonial Surveyor*.

MAGISTRATES.

Charles Butler, Joshua Stewart, H. B. Matthews, Daniel Johnston, *for Monrovia*.

Jeremiah Nixon, D. L. Brown, Jesse Palin, *for Caldwell*.

Tabb Smith, Philip Moore, for *Millsburg*.
 William L. Weaver, John Hanson, for *Edina*.
 CONSTABLES.
 R. Matthews, Moses Jacobs, for *Monrovia*.
 Sion Harris, S. J. White, for *Caldwell*.
 F. Richardson, James Thomas, for *Millsburg*.
 Lloyd Fuller, J. H. Stevens, for *Edina*.

SLAVERY AND COLONIZATION.

[From the *National Intelligencer*, Nov. 5, 1834.]

At the present time, when the discussion of these subjects has produced great excitement in the public mind, especially in the Northern States, where much imprudent zeal has been discovered in favor of the Abolition of Slavery, and in opposition to the Society established at the Seat of the National Government in the Winter of 1816-1817 by some of the most distinguished, patriotic, and benevolent men of our country, for colonizing in Africa, such free persons of color as were then free, or such as might thereafter become free, it may be well to take a cool and retrospective view of the matter, and inquire what views and opinions were entertained upon it soon after the formation of the present Government.

It is well known to most reading men who have looked into this subject, that Judge Tucker, of Virginia, in his edition of *Blackstone's Commentaries*, published in the year 1803, with Notes and References to the Constitution and Laws of the United States and of the Commonwealth of Virginia, gives a comprehensive view of the state of *Slavery in Virginia*, in which he notices the commencement and progress of the system up to the time when his work appeared, and submits for public consideration a plan, which, after much consideration he had formed, for a safe, gradual, and effectual abolishment of the system, whenever the public mind should be drawn to the subject.

From an impression that this work of Judge Tucker is but little known to readers of the present day, and, from a belief that it contains much practical wisdom on this important subject, devoid of all party considerations, I have thought it might be useful to give some extracts from it, and have therefore made the following, and send them for insertion in your valuable paper.

November, 1834.

AN OLD MAN.

The Judge states, that "Slaves were first introduced into Virginia, by the arrival of a Dutch ship from the coast of Africa, with 20 negroes on board, which were sold, in the year 1623. In the year 1633, he says, we find them in Massachusetts. They were introduced in Connecticut, soon after the settlement of that Colony, about the same period. Thus early had our forefathers sown the seeds of an evil, which, like a leprosy, has descended upon their posterity with accumulated rancor, visiting the sins of the fathers upon succeeding generations. The climate of the Northern States, less favorable to the constitution of the natives of Africa than that of the Southern, proved alike unfavorable to their propagation, and to the increase of their numbers by importations. As the Southern Colonies advanced in population, not only importations increased there, but Nature herself, under a climate

more congenial to the African constitution, assisted in multiplying the blacks in those parts, no less than in diminishing their numbers, in the more rigorous climates of the North. This influence of climate, moreover, contributed extremely to increase or diminish the value of Slaves to the purchasers in different Colonies. White laborers, whose constitutions were better adapted to the severe winters of the New England Colonies, were there found to be preferable to negroes; who, accustomed to the influence of an ardent sun, became almost torpid in those countries, not less adapted to give vigor to their laborious exercises, than unfavorable to the multiplication of their species. In the Colonies, where the Winters were not only milder, and of shorter duration, but succeeded by an intense Summer heat, as invigorating to the African as debilitating to the European constitution, the negroes were not only more capable of performing labor than the Europeans, or their descendants, but the multiplication of the species was at least equal, and, where they met with humane treatment, perhaps greater than among the whites.—The great increase of Slavery at the Southward, in proportion to the Northern States, is therefore not attributable solely to the effect of sentiment, but to natural causes, as well as to those considerations of profit which have, perhaps an equal influence over the conduct of mankind in general, in whatever country, or under whatever climate, their destiny has placed them.

“The first act which appears in the Virginia code of laws for prohibiting the importation of slaves, passed in October, 1778, declares that no slaves should thereafter be brought into that Commonwealth, and that every slave thus imported should be free. In 1785, the Judge states, this act underwent some alteration, by declaring that slaves, thereafter brought into the Commonwealth, and kept therein one whole year together, or so long at different times as shall amount to a year, shall be free. The difficulty of proving the right to freedom by this act was considerably augmented. The same act declares that no person shall thenceforth be slaves in the Commonwealth, except such as were so on the first day of that session, and the descendants of the females of them. In 1793, an additional act passed authorizing and requiring any justice of the peace, having notice of the importation of any slaves, directly or indirectly, from any port of Africa or the West Indies, to cause such slaves to be immediately apprehended and transported out of the Commonwealth. Such, says the Judge, is the rise, progress, and present foundation of slavery in Virginia, as far as I have been able to trace it.

“Whatever inclination the first inhabitants of Virginia might have had to encourage slavery, a disposition to check its progress and increase, manifested itself in the Legislature, even before the close of the last century. In the year 1699, we find an act laying a tax on servants and slaves imported into this country, which was either continued, revived, or increased, by a variety of temporary acts passed between that period and the Revolution of 1776.

“A system uniformly persisted in for nearly a whole century, and finally carried into effect as soon as the Legislature was unrestrained by the “inhuman exercise of the Royal prerogative,” evinces the sincerity of that disposition which the Legislature had shown, during so long a period, to put a check to the growing evil.”

The Judge then goes into a consideration of the condition of slaves in Virginia, and the legal consequences attendant on a state of slavery. We shall pass over what he says on this subject, in order to take notice of some other of his remarks more intimately connected with the general matter in hand.

After closing his view of the jurisprudence of Virginia respecting slaves, he remarks, “how frequently the laws of nature have been set aside in institutions the pure result of prejudice, usurpation, and tyranny. We have found actions, innocent or indifferent, punishable with a rigor, scarcely due to any but the most atrocious offences against civil society; justice distributed by an unequal measure to the master and the slave; and even the hand of mercy arrested where mercy might have been extended to the wretched culprit, had his complexion been the same with that of his judges, for the short period of ten days, between his condemnation and execution, was often insufficient to obtain a pardon for a slave convicted in a remote part of the country, whilst a free man, condemned at the seat of Government, and tried before the Governor himself, in whom the power of pardon was vested, had a respite of thirty days to implore the clemency of the Executive authority. It may be urged, and I believe with truth, that these rigors did not proceed from a sanguinary temper in the people of Virginia, but from those political considerations indispensably necessary where slavery prevails to any great extent. I am, moreover, happy to observe that our police respecting this unhappy class of people is

not only less rigorous than formerly, but perhaps milder than in other countries where there are so many slaves, or so large a proportion of them, in respect to the free inhabitants. It is also, I trust, unjust to censure the present generation for the existence of slavery in Virginia; for I think it unquestionably true, that a very large proportion of our fellow citizens lament that as a misfortune which is imputed to them as a reproach, it being evident, from what has been already shewn upon the subject, that, *antecedent to the Revolution*, no exertion to abolish or even to check the progress of slavery in Virginia could have received the smallest countenance from the Crown, without whose assent the united wishes and exertions of every individual here would have been wholly fruitless and ineffectual. It is, perhaps, also demonstrable, that at no period since the Revolution could the abolition of slavery in this State have been safely undertaken, until the foundations of our newly established Governments had been found capable of supporting the fabric itself, under any shock, which so arduous an attempt might have produced. But these obstacles being now happily removed, considerations of policy, as well as justice and humanity, must evince the necessity of eradicating the evil, before it becomes impossible to do it without tearing up the roots of civil society with it."

Judge TUCKER then considered the modes by which slaves have been or may be emancipated, and the legal consequences thereof, from the time of the Israelites to the present day. But this part of his remarks we shall pass over in order to come to his proposed plan.

"The extirpation of slavery from the United States," the Judge allows, "is a task equally arduous and momentous. To restore the blessings of liberty to near a million of oppressed individuals,* who have groaned under the yoke of Bondage, and to their descendants, is an object, which those who trust in Providence, will be convinced would not be unaided by the Divine Author of our being, should we invoke his blessing upon our endeavors. Yet human prudence forbids that we should precipitately engage in a work of such hazard as a general and simultaneous emancipation. The mind of a man must in some measure be formed for his future condition. The early impressions of obedience and submission which slaves have received among us, and the no less habitual arrogance and assumption of superiority among the whites, contribute, equally, to unfit the former for *freedom*, and the latter for *equality*. To expel them all at once from the United States, would, in fact, be to devote them only to a lingering death by famine, by disease, and other accumulated miseries. To retain them among us, would be to throw so many of the human race upon the earth without the means of subsistence; they would become idle, profligate, and miserable; unfit for their new condition, and unwilling to return to their former laborious course, they would become the caterpillars of the earth, and the tigers of the human race.

"In Massachusetts, the abolition of slavery was effected by a single stroke—a clause in their constitution. But the whites at that time were as 65 to 1, in proportion to the blacks. The number of free persons in the United States south of the Delaware, are less than 2 to 1 in proportion to the blacks. Of the cultivators of the earth in the same district, it is probable that there are four slaves to one free white man. To discharge the former from their present condition would be attended with an immediate general famine in those parts of the Union, from which not all the productions of the other States could deliver them. Similar evils might reasonably be apprehended from the adoption of the measure by any one of the Southern States; for in all of them the proportion of slaves is too great not to be attended with calamitous effects, if they were immediately set free.

"These are serious, I had almost said insurmountable, obstacles to a general, simultaneous emancipation. There are other considerations not to be disregarded. A great part of the *property* of individuals consists in *slaves*. The laws have sanctioned this species of property. Can the laws take away the property of an individual without his own consent, or without a *just compensation*? Will those who do not hold slaves, agree to be taxed to make this compensation? Creditors also, who have trusted their debtors upon the faith of this visible property, will be defrauded. If justice demands the emancipation of the slave, she, also, under these circumstances, seems to plead for the owner, and for his creditor. The claims of

*The number, since the period at which Judge Tucker wrote, is more than doubled.

nature, it will be said, are stronger than those which arise from social institutions only. I admit it, but nature also dictates to us to provide for our own safety, and authorizes all necessary measures for that purpose. And we have shown that our security, nay our very existence, might be endangered, by the hasty adoption of any measure for the immediate relief of the whole of this unhappy race. Must we then quit the subject, in despair of the success of any project for the amendment of their, as well as our own, condition? I think not. Strenuously as I feel my mind opposed to a simultaneous emancipation, for the reasons already mentioned, the abolition of slavery in the United States, and especially in that State to which I am attached by every tie that nature and society form, is now my first, and may probably be my last expiring wish.

“But here let me avoid the imputation of inconsistency, by observing, that the abolition of slavery may be effected without the emancipation of a single slave; without depriving any man of the property which he possesses, and without defrauding a creditor, who has trusted him on the faith of that property. The experiment of this plan has already been made in some of our sister States; Pennsylvania, under the auspices of the immortal *Franklin*,† begun the work of the gradual abolition of slavery in the year 1780, by enlisting Nature herself on the side of Humanity.— Connecticut followed the example four years after. New York lately made an essay, which miscarried by a very inconsiderable majority.‡ Mr. Jefferson informs us that the Committee of Revisers in Virginia (of which he was a member) had prepared a bill for the emancipation of all slaves born after the passing of that act. This was conformable to the Pennsylvania and Connecticut laws. Why the measure was not brought forward in the General Assembly I have never heard. Probably because objections were foreseen to that part of the bill which relates to the disposal of the blacks, after they had attained a certain age.§

“But, it may be asked, why not incorporate these colored persons, after they obtain their freedom, into the State. This question has been well answered by Mr. Jefferson, in his Notes on Virginia; and who is there so free from prejudices among us, as candidly to declare that he has none against such a measure. The recent scenes transacted in the French Colonies in the West Indies, are enough to make one shudder with the apprehension of realizing similar calamities in this country.— Many who regret domestic slavery, contend, that, in abolishing it, we must also abolish that scion from it, which I have denominated Civil Slavery. That there must be no distinction of rights; that the descendants of Africans as men, have an equal claim to all civil rights with the descendants of Europeans, and, upon being delivered from the yoke of bondage, have a right to be admitted to all the privileges of citizens. But have not men, when they enter into a state of society, a right to admit, or exclude, any descriptions of persons, as they think proper? And, if prejudices have taken such deep root in our minds, as to render it impossible to eradicate them, ought not these opinions to be respected. Shall we not relieve the necessities of the naked, diseased beggar, unless we will invite him to a seat at our table, nor afford him shelter from the inclemencies of the night air, unless we admit him also to share our bed! To deny that we ought to abolish slavery, without incorporating the negroes into the State, and admitting them to a full participation of all our civil and social rights, appears to me to rest upon a similar foundation. Some middle course must therefore be found between the tyrannical and iniquitous policy which holds so many human creatures in a state of grievous bondage, and that which would turn loose a numerous, starving, and enraged banditti, upon the innocent descendants of their former oppressors. *Nature, time, and sound policy*, must co-operate with each other to produce such a change; if either be neglected, the work will be incomplete, dangerous, and, not improbably, destructive.

“The plan, therefore, which I would presume to propose for the consideration of my countrymen, is such as the number of slaves, the difference of their nature and

†Dr. Franklin, it is said, drew the bill for the gradual abolition of slavery in Pennsylvania.

‡ New York and New Jersey have, since Judge Tucker wrote, abolished slavery.

§ The Colony established by the American Colonization Society at Liberia, it is presumed, will provide for the objections on this score, as it will at all times afford an asylum for such free persons of color as desire to enjoy all the privileges of a free government, in a society where the highest offices will be open to them.

habits, and the state of agriculture among us, might render it *expedient*, rather than desirable, to adopt, and will partake partly of that proposed by Mr. Jefferson, and adopted in other States, and partly of such cautionary restrictions as a due regard to situation and circumstances, and even to general prejudices, might recommend to those who engage in so arduous, and perhaps unprecedented, an undertaking.

"1. Let every negro or mulatto female, born after the adoption of the plan, be free, and transmit freedom to all her descendants, both male and female.

"2. As a compensation to those persons in whose families such females or their descendants may be born, for the expense and trouble of their maintenance during infancy, let them serve such persons until the age of twenty-eight years; let them then receive twenty dollars in money, two suits of clothes suited to the season, a hat, a pair of shoes, and two blankets. If these things be not voluntarily done, let the County Courts enforce the performance, upon complaint.

"3. Let all negro children be registered with the Clerk of the County or Corporation Court, where born, within one month after their birth: let the person in whose family they are born take a copy of the register, and deliver it to the mother; or, if she die, to the child, before it is of the age of twenty-one years. Let any negro claiming to be free, above the age of puberty, be considered as of the age of twenty-eight years, if he or she be not registered as required.

"4. Let all negro servants be put on the same footing as white servants and apprentices now are, in respect to food, raiment, correction, and the assignment of their service from one to another.

"5. Let the children of negroes and mulattoes, born in the families of their parents, be bound to service by the Overseers of the Poor, until they shall attain the age of twenty-one years. Let all above that age, who are not housekeepers, nor have voluntarily bound themselves to service for a year, before the 1st of February, annually, be then bound for the remainder of the year by the Overseers of the Poor. To stimulate the Overseers of the Poor to perform their duty, let them receive fifteen per cent. of their wages, from the person hiring them, as a compensation for their trouble, and ten per cent. per annum out of the wages of such as they may bind apprentices.

"6. If, at the age of twenty-seven years, the master of a negro or mulatto servant be unwilling to pay his freedom dues above mentioned, at the expiration of the succeeding year, let him bring him into the County Court, clad and furnished with necessaries, as before directed, and pay into Court five dollars for the servant, and thereupon let the Court direct him to be hired by the Overseers of the Poor for the succeeding year, in the manner before directed.

"7. Let no negro or mulatto be capable of taking, holding, or exercising, any public office, freehold, franchise, or privilege, of any estate, in lands or tenements other than a lease not exceeding twenty-one years; nor of keeping or bearing arms, unless authorized so to do by some act of the General Assembly, whose duration shall be limited to three years.* Nor of contracting matrimony with any other than a negro or mulatto; nor be an attorney; nor be a juror or witness in any Court of Judicature, except against or between negroes and mulattoes. Nor be an executor or administrator; nor capable of making any will or testament; nor maintain any real action; nor be a trustee of lands or tenements himself, nor any other person to be a trustee to him or to his use.

"8. Let all colored persons, born after the passing of the act, be considered as entitled to the same mode of trial in criminal cases, as free negroes and mulattoes are now entitled to."

"The restrictions in the foregoing Plan may appear to savour strongly of prejudice; but whoever proposes any Plan for the abolition of Slavery, must either encounter or accommodate himself to prejudice. I have preferred the latter: not that I pretend to be wholly exempt from it, but that I might avoid as many obstacles as possible to the completion of so desirable a work as the abolition of Slavery. †—

* The Romans, before the time of Justinian, adopted a similar policy in respect to their freed-men.

† If, upon experiment, it should appear advisable to hasten the operation of this Plan, or to enlarge the privilege of free negroes, it will be both easier and safer to do so, than to retrench any privilege once granted, or to retard the operation of the original Plan, after it has been adopted, and in part carried into execution.

Though I am opposed to the banishment of the negroes, I wish not to encourage their future residence among us. By denying them the highest privileges which Civil Government affords, I wish to render it their inclination and their interest to seek those privileges in some other climate. †

“But it is not from the want of liberality to the emancipated race of blacks, that I apprehend the most serious objections to the plan I have ventured to suggest.— Those slaveholders (whose number I trust is few) who have been in the habit of considering their fellow-creatures as no more than cattle and the rest of the brute creation, will exclaim that they are to be deprived of their property without compensation. Men who will shut their ears against this moral truth, that all men are by nature free and equal, will not even be convinced that they do not possess a *property* in an *unborn child*; they will not distinguish between allowing to *unborn generations* the absolute and inalienable rights of human nature, and taking away that which they *now possess*; they will shut their ears against truth, should you tell them the loss of the mother’s labor for nine months, and the maintenance of a child for a dozen or fourteen years, is amply compensated by the service of that child for so many years more as he has been an expense to them. But if the voice of reason justice, and humanity, be not stifled by sordid avarice, or unfeeling tyranny, it would be easy to convince even those who have entertained such erroneous notions that the right of one man over another is neither founded in nature nor in sound policy: that it cannot extend to those *not in being*; that no man can, in reality, be *deprived* of what he does not possess; that fourteen years labor by a young person, in the prime of life, is an ample compensation for a few months of labor lost by the mother and for the maintenance of a child, in that coarse, homely manner that negroes are brought up, and lastly, that a state of Slavery is not only perfectly incompatible with the principles of free Government, but with the safety and security of their masters.

“To such as apprehend danger to our Agricultural interest, and the depriving the families of those whose principal reliance is upon their Slaves, of support, it will be proper to submit a view of the gradual operation and effects of this Plan.— They will, no doubt, be surprised to hear, that, whenever it is adopted, the number of slaves will not be diminished for forty years after it takes place; that it will even increase for thirty years; that, at the distance of sixty years, there will be one-third of the number at its first commencement: that it will require more than a *century* to complete it; and that the number of blacks *under twenty eight*, and consequently bound to service in the families in which they were born, will always be at least as great as the present number of Slaves.”

[Judge TUCKER here subjoins a calculation, in detail, to show that the effect of his plan will be as above stated, but the facts being fully and clearly laid down, every one, who has the curiosity to do so, can make the estimate for himself.]

“It will further appear, that females only will arrive at the age of emancipation within the first forty-five years; all the males, during that period continuing either in Slavery or bound to service till the age of twenty-eight years. The earth cannot want cultivators whilst our population increases as at present, and three-fourths of those employed therein are held to service, and the remainder compellable to labor. For we must not lose sight of this important consideration, that these people must be *bound* to labor, if they do not *voluntarily* engage therein. Their faculties are at present only calculated for that object; if they be not employed therein, they will become drones of the worst description. In absolving them from the yoke of Slavery, we must not forget the interests of Society. Those interests require the exertions of every individual, in some mode or other; and those who have not wherewith to support themselves honestly, without corporal labor, whatever be their

† The Judge had reference in this remark to Louisiana, Florida, and other vacant territory then on this continent, which have, since the period of his writing, become integral portions of the Union. But as the Colony of Liberia, in Africa, was expressly provided by the Philanthropists and friends of the Negro race in this country as an Asylum for such free persons of color as might desire to enjoy the blessings of freedom in their fullest extent, no place could be better chosen for their accommodation; and there they would have an opportunity of extending the blessings of Freedom to a vast Continent of their colored brethren, at present in a state of barbarism.

complexion, ought to be compelled to labor. This is the case in England, where domestic Slavery has long been unknown. It must also be the case in every well-ordered Society; and where the number of persons without property increase, there the coercion of the laws becomes more immediately requisite. The proposed plan would necessarily have this effect, and therefore ought to be accompanied with such a regulation. Though the rigours of our police, in respect to this unhappy race, ought to be softened, its regularity and punctual administration should be increased, rather than relaxed."

This plan of Judge TUCKER, when first published, struck me as being more likely, than any other which had ever been proposed, to effect the great object in question, and that it would be most acceptable to the People of the Southern States, who are most interested in the matter. It will be gradual, easily carried into effect, will have scarcely any effect upon the present owners of negro property, and will prove satisfactory to the colored people themselves; for though it does not propose to interfere with their present relation in society, it makes complete provision for the emancipation of their children and their children's children. And it is hoped, that when the friends of emancipation at the North, at least all those who are reasonable, practical, peaceable men, and wish for nothing but the increased happiness and prosperity of our country (and I must believe that much the greater part are of this number, though there are wild fanatics amongst them) when they maturely consider the matter, will be satisfied with the plan laid down by this wise, learned and good man (now no more) upwards of thirty years ago.

And should this be the case, I would hope there would be no difficulty in bringing about the end so devoutly to be wished. For I believe the time has arrived when many of the owners of negro property themselves are desirous of adopting some safe, gradual, and practical plan for changing the present state of things at the South, as they plainly discover that the Northern and Middle States are far in advance of them in every kind of improvement; that their lands are in a higher state of cultivation, that their comforts of life are greater; that property of every kind is much more valuable; that their means of communication are more complete; and that these differences of situation between the two portions of country, are principally owing to the existence of slavery. Now nothing further is necessary to bring about a desirable change in these respects, than that one or more of the Legislatures of the Southern States (say Maryland or Virginia, or both, for the abolition of slavery commenced at the North, and will probably progress regularly from North to South) pass an act or acts adopting some such plan as the one here given. For, the moment an act of this kind is passed, the scene would begin to change, the country would resound with the glad tidings that the Southern States had resolved to abolish slavery! All would be joy and congratulation.— We should hear no more of emigrations to the Far West. The farmers would remain satisfied with the prospect before them of better times, and the Legislatures of the several States would begin to make improvements in anticipation of the coming events; and the black population would rejoice in the prospect of freedom for their posterity.

In the mean time, I would hope that the same patriotic and benevolent spirit which first established the American Colonization Society, and afterwards their Colony at Liberia, will continue its countenance and support. Much has been effected by that Society. More than three thousand colored emigrants (many of them manumitted slaves) are comfortably settled there under a free Government; some of them being engaged in commerce and trade, and others in agricultural and other pursuits. The settlement will be from time to time increased by emigrants from this country, both by persons of color already free, who may choose to go thither, and by colored persons who may be manumitted for the purpose. So that, by the time any act of the Southern States, passed for the gradual emancipation of the colored people, can go into effect, that colony will probably have become a large, populous, and flourishing community. In order to promote the extension and prosperity of the colony, the Managers of the Colonial Society, it is understood, have given instructions to their Colonial Agent to obtain additional Territory in the interior of the country, with a special view to agricultural pursuits.

COLONIZATION MEETING.

[From the *New-York Spectator*, January 16.]

On Thursday evening, a numerous meeting of ladies and gentlemen friendly to the cause of African Colonization, was held at Masonic Hall, in this city. The spacious room, notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather, was filled at an early hour. The meeting was called to order by the Rev. Dr. MILNOR, who nominated President DUER, of Columbia College, as Chairman, which was unanimously agreed to. ROBERT B. BROWNE, and WILLIAM L. STONE, were appointed Secretaries, and the Rev. Dr. DE WITT, addressed the throne of grace in an appropriate prayer.

President DUER then rose and briefly stated the objects of the meeting. He said that about fifteen months ago it had been determined to establish a new colony upon the African coast—but although the consummation of the design had been delayed, it had never been lost sight of. Intervening difficulties had retarded the benevolent purpose in view, but had not suppressed it. The want of funds by the Parent Society impeded their operations, and naturally called forth our sympathies and aid. It was indispensable to maintain the present colony, and it was early and properly determined to do nothing in relation to the planting of a new one, but with the assent, and under the direction, of the Parent Society. Difficulties still remained in the way of proceeding, which arose from domestic causes, and paralyzed active exertion. Offers, however, were received from various parts of the South to emancipate slaves on condition that they should be sent to Africa at the expense of the Colonization Society; and this was sufficient evidence to show that the spirit which was excited had extended itself; and that it only wanted the co-operation of the North to ef-

fect the gradual emancipation of the South. Still the Parent Society could not avail itself of the proffer. It had become involved in debt, and wisely and justly resolved to pay off outstanding claims before contracting new ones. But the opportunity of converting so many American slaves as were offered, into African freemen, was too important to be lost. The subject was taken up by a Society formed in Philadelphia, called the Young Men's Colonization Society of Pennsylvania, which raised a fund and lately sent one hundred and thirty-one manumitted slaves to Africa. They embarked in the *Ninus*, at Norfolk, for the purpose of planting a colony at Bassa Cove, upon the coast south-west of Liberia. Though not able of themselves to sustain the expense of planting and maintaining a separate colony, yet by union with us, it is believed that the object may be effected.

The leading features of this plan were—first, to assist the Parent Society, so far, as that out of all sums collected, a portion should be given to the Parent Society, equal in amount to what they would have been probably able to collect on their own account, if this Society had not been in existence. The next object of the Society was to establish a colony at Bassa Cove, some distance from the present colony at Liberia, and which was supposed to possess superior advantages over the latter place. The great object was to establish this colony by united efforts; and the present meeting was called together in consequence of the many applications from their brethren of the South, for means to send away their slaves, two or three hundred of whom would be liberated as soon as they could be removed. The question was no longer, whether colonization was to be carried on, or free people of color transported; but whether it should be done to forward emancipation; and whether the Societies should be supported in an undertaking from which Africa could be colonized and Christianity extended; besides all the other effects which might be expected from it.

The Rev. Mr. HUNT, of North Carolina, rose and addressed the meeting. He felt happy, he said, in being a Southerner, and an American, and could say that so far as his acquaintance extended, a strong inclination pervaded the South to give liberty to their slaves. Still, however, whilst the considerate and benevolent cherish these sentiments, they will never permit, in any way, the interference of others in their domestic relations. He was once a slaveholder himself, and could appreciate the feelings of others. It was objected to the Colonization Society that its movements were slow—but the greater wonder was that it should be able to move at all. There are many causes to retard its operations. Among the rest, not the least effective in the South, was the strong attachment which existed between the master and the slave. So much had been said of the unhealthiness of Africa, that the former were reluctant to send the latter to a climate which was represented as pregnant with disease and death. His own knowledge of the subject, enabled him to refute these representations. He had emancipated his own slaves, sixteen in number, in the year 1828, and sent them to Liberia. They settled, immediately on their arrival, on the Saint Paul's River. None of them had died by the last advices, June 1834, except two infants—one on the voyage, and one born after the arrival in Africa. The father of the family sent,

was a very conscientious, pious man—for many years a member, and, previous to his departure from this country, was ordained an Elder, of the Presbyterian Church. He would rely on any statement he would give, so far as veracity is concerned, as soon as on that of any other man. He informed me, said Mr. H., that they are doing well, except as it has reference to those inconveniences which result from a newly settled country—that most of those who went with him, not before pious, have made a creditable profession of faith in the Saviour.

The obstacle of Colonization is therefore removed; how often soever the mendacious allegation may be made. It is like the thousand other baseless fabrications which ignorance and wickedness set afloat in the community—like the sinful cry of the rich against the poor. During the prevalence of these calumnies, the real friends of the colored race were afraid to move onward. They drew back—to wait till the wildness of feeling had subsided. They had ascertained that the Southampton massacre had been justified by certain editors, and that insubordination and insurrection had been so countenanced that they had been compelled to take measures of precaution against them.— In the meantime, the benevolent masters who were looking forward to the period when, with safety to themselves and the community, they could emancipate their slaves, were teaching and instructing them to become men fitted to participate in the blessings of freedom.

Several other topics were discussed by Mr. H. with great facility and force, which our limited space compels us to omit. He referred particularly to the accusation that preaching was not allowed to the slaves, which was denied; and illustrated the position that we were not to despair of the emancipation and colonization of the blacks, when we reflect that the greater and more glorious cause of Christianity has been preached already 1800 years—and though hastening to its consummation—yet a great portion of the earth still remains unenlightened by its beams.

Mr. H. was very forcible and eloquent at times. He could not endure the thought of abandoning or breaking up the Colonization Society. It was their last and only hope at the South. If that should fall—a dark cloud would come over them. It would be final as to the hope of a peaceable extinguishment of slavery. Ultimately it would come to force. It would be the blacks against the whites, and the whites against the blacks; and he asserted, and repeated, with great emphasis, that in that event there would—there could—be no compromise. *It would be war to the knife, and the knife to the hilt!*

BISHOP SMITH, of Kentucky, then addressed the meeting. He would confine himself, he said, to facts relating to this important subject. The sentiment was becoming next to universal in Kentucky, that slave property is unprofitable and undesirable. Instead of the cry that the blacks were running away from the whites, the tables were now turned, and the whites were running away from the blacks. The slave districts, though not deserted, are yet becoming less populous and less valuable. Great sacrifices are made by slaveholders to establish themselves in places where the influences of slavery shall not be felt. To get rid of the pending evil, a convention has been recent-

ly called in Kentucky. A gentleman of Lexington, a manufacturer, who belonged to it, made a Colonization Speech in that body, evincing great shrewdness and just observation. He remarked that the regular working men were in reality keeping watch for the benefit of slaveholders—and that five were standing guard to ensure the safety of one. Some plan must be devised to vary the present relations in slaveholding society. He believed that only three effectual plans could be devised—these were—extermination—amalgamation—and colonization. Humanity shudders at the two former, and we therefore must have recourse to the last. Voluntary gradual emancipation was the only remedy, and this could be effected only through the Colonization Society.

Rev. Mr. JACKSON of this city, next addressed the meeting and submitted the following resolution:—

Resolved, That this meeting regard the union and plan of future operations formed between the Colonization Society of the City of New York, and the Young Men's Colonization Society of Pennsylvania, as an event promising to be highly beneficial to the Colonization cause, and cordially recommend it to the approbation and support of all the friends of our colored population.

He could not hope, he said, to excite an interest, superior to that which had been manifested already: but it was a matter of rejoicing that we were now pointed to an event which would form a new era in the annals of Colonization. We were now about to draw to our aid the occupiers of a neutral ground—real philanthropists, but whose vision had been obscured by the clouds raised around it by the opposers of the Colonization cause. If the North would do its duty, the South, he was sure, would not be backward to let the captive go free. An alliance was formed with the Society of the Young Men of Philadelphia—the plans had been laid and matured—and a Colony already on its way to a land probably to assume the name of Yorksylvania. They were emigrants of the best class—men of Peace and Temperance—most of them imbued with our Holy Religion—and he justly hoped that the Colony they were to found would rival New-York in commerce, and Pennsylvania in fertility. It remains for these States to say how soon these delightful visions shall be realized. The enterprise will be beneficial to the slave, the free colored man, and the slaveholder. All who are connected with it, must profit by it. Leave the free colored man here, and he is only a *free slave*. Their elevation in this country may be hoped, but it cannot be expected. By promoting their settlement in their native land, we may refine, elevate, and save them. The present plan recommends itself to the Colonizationist, the Abolitionist, and the Friend of Temperance. Let our friends be firm, liberal and energetic, and we may see Africa regenerated, and America free.

Rev. JOHN BRECKENRIDGE said, he rose to second the resolution; and he supported it in his usual style of chaste and commanding eloquence. He had hoped, he said, to avoid saying a word on the subject this evening, but there was a principle involved in the measure of founding a separate Colony, which, he thought, required explanation. It might perhaps be supposed that this enterprise would interfere with the Parent Society—but such was not the fact. It was a radical principle with the two Societies, that the Parent Society

shall not be abandoned. This they have resolved on, not only as a point of honor, but from a regard both to interest and philanthropy. They would not forsake that blessed institution which had done so much for the benefit of the human family, and for the glory of God.

Mr. B. explained the origin of the Young Men's Society in Philadelphia, and the object of the Union. It was intended to colonize it as our ancestors colonized this country. They settled at different points—at Plymouth, at New-York, at Philadelphia, and at Jamestown; so shall little settlements be formed—scattered from Sierra Leone to Cape Palmas—like gems scattered upon the African coast, diffusing their brilliant light over that whole region of darkness.

Mr. B. also went somewhat into details as to the geography of Africa—the Maryland settlement of Cape Palmas—its effects, and the designs of the Society of that State—disclaiming, on all sides, any intention to injure the Parent Society. We do not, said he, wish to kill the venerable tree, but only to tear away the poisonous vine that clings around it.

Near the close of his remarks, he observed, that he would now mention an affecting fact connected with the subject of slavery. There was then in the room a venerable old man, who would present himself before them. His name in English was Paul, the aged. He had been thirty years in slavery, and was now free, and hoped once more to revisit his native land, and meet his family, from whom he had been so long separated. After being for so long a period a slave, he had at last met a Christian Master who set him free, and sent him to ask assistance from the Colonization Society, to enable him to return to Africa. Let those who mourned over his unhappy fate, or who wished him to be restored to his country, cast the first stone at him (Mr. B.) or the Colonization Society; and if sending this man home was to be called slave-making, he wished to be a slave-maker all his life.

The old man of whom he was speaking was a scholar, and could write in the Arabic, and knew the Bible in his own language, though he was ignorant that the art of printing had ever been invented. He had left behind him a wife and three children, and it was the earnest wish of the Society to send him home as soon as possible, in the hope that he might once more meet his family, before they parted, never more to meet in this world.

The old man was then brought forward and related in broken English, the principal events of his life. He was of an affluent if not a noble family, and went 900 miles to an institution to acquire an education. After that he taught a school for five years. He was then married, and at a subsequent period went to Timbuctoo to obtain paper. On his way back he was surrounded when asleep, and awoke by the act of his captors putting fetters upon him. He was then taken down to a slave ship and brought to this country. He ended his narrative by stating his travels and transfer from master to master for the last 30 years, as mentioned by Mr. Breckenridge, and concluded by invoking a blessing on this country.

Mr. B. then observed, that he would add a final word—it was especially addressed to the young men of that assembly. He conjured

them to rouse themselves upon this important subject, so peculiarly interesting to them,—for as the great Webster said—“in the bosom of the young man is the sanctuary of freedom.”

The question was then taken upon the resolution, and it was adopted.

The Rev. CYRUS MASON then offered the following resolution:—

Resolved, That this meeting approve the plan of raising \$15,000 in aid of the objects of this Society, and that a subscription be now opened for the purpose.

The resolution was seconded by W. L. STONE, who observed that before the subscription and collection were taken up, he had two facts to state for the consideration of the meeting. They had already been informed of the sailing of the expedition for Bassa Cove; and he thought it well to apprise the meeting that it was intended to send another expedition of select emigrants, who were now waiting to embark, from Savannah. It was the present purpose of the New-York and Philadelphia Societies to send them in March next. Their number is about one hundred and thirty—all people of information and character—having among them various artisans, teachers, and a clergyman. Towards this object the New-York Board had pledged itself to raise one thousand dollars. The second circumstance which he wished to announce, was the contents of a letter just received from the Secretary of the Parent Board. It was not now introduced to the meeting for stage effect, since it had only been received upon the stage after the organization of the present meeting. It was addressed to his friend on his left, (Mr. Anson G. Phelps,) and announced the fact, that a vessel was immediately wanting to transport to Liberia sixty-two recaptured African slaves—sixty-two human beings, under circumstances similar to those which the meeting had just heard detailed, respecting the venerable African now before them. As an appeal to the meeting, he would not add another word.

One thing more: It has been asserted by the foes of the Colonization Society, that the distinguished Christian Philanthropists of England were opposed to it. But, Mr. President, such is by no means the universal fact; and may I ask you, sir, (added Mr. S.) whether you have not recently received from the distinguished President of the British and Foreign Bible Society, (Lord Bexley,) a letter, in which his Lordship speaks favorably of the Colonization scheme?

President Duer intimated that he had received such a letter.

Mr. S. resumed, and observed, that he had no doubt that the meeting would be much gratified to hear the letter, if no objections existed to making it public.

President Duer remarked that the letter was written to him upon another subject, in part, but that if the meeting desired it, he would read it with pleasure. The letter was thereupon read as follows:

FOOTSCRAY PLACE, 18th Nov. 1834.

SIR—I have the honor to acknowledge, with many thanks, your obliging present, of pamphlets in defence of the American Colonization Society, which Mr. Vail had the goodness to forward to me. I am happy to observe that the cause of African Colonization is prospering in America, notwithstanding considerable opposition. With us it is very languishing; owing, in a great degree, I believe, to the excitement occasioned by the emancipation of the slaves in our Colonies, which absorbs public attention. This great measure may hereafter furnish some ma-

materials for a British Colony in Africa ; but I fear there are few of the British Negroes so well qualified by education and habits, to become peaceable and industrious citizens, as the settlers in Liberia. This must be the work of time ; and to transplant them without due preparation, would be only to entail misery on themselves, and those among whom they are placed. While I think the Colony of Liberia promises to be one of the greatest blessings ever bestowed upon Africa, I am ever, sir, with every wish for the success of your benevolent Society,

Your faithful servant,

BEXLEY.

Mr. DUER.

It was received with applause : the resolution was adopted ; and a subscription (and money) taken up amounting to near SIX HUNDRED AND FIFTY DOLLARS.

COLONIAL CONSTITUTION AND PLAN OF CIVIL GOVERNMENT:

Office of the American Colonization Society,
WASHINGTON, MAY 18, 1825.

At a special meeting of the Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society, the Digest of the Laws and the Plan of Civil Government for Liberia, as adopted by the Agents of this Society, having been read and considered, it was, on motion,

Resolved, That the Board of Managers, considering the satisfactory information afforded by recent accounts from the Colony, of the successful operation of the Plan of the Civil Government thereof, as established by their Agents in August last, and seeing therein reason to reconsider their instructions to the Agent, of the 29th of December, 1824, now approve of the principles in that form of government, and give their sanction to the same.

Resolved, That the digest of the laws be referred to a Committee to examine the same, and compare them with the Constitution and Laws of 1820, and report to the next stated meeting.

WASHINGTON, MAY 23, 1825.

At a meeting of the Board of Managers, this day, the Committee appointed at the last meeting, presented the following resolutions, which were adopted :

Resolved, That the Board, having considered the Digest of the Laws now in force in the Colony of Liberia, dated August 19, 1824, as prepared by the Agent, do approve the same, and declare the same to be, under the Constitution, the law of the Colony, adding thereto the following: In case of failure to find recognizance for good behavior, when required, the person so failing shall be subjected to such labor on the public works, or other penalty as the Agent shall prescribe, until he shall find recognizance, or the object for which it was required of him shall have been answered.

In all cases of banishment, where the banished person has no heir in the Colony, the land held by him shall revert to the Colony.

Resolved, That this declaration of the law of the Colony, shall not be construed to annul or impair any regulation which the Agent, under his constitutional authority, may have seen fit to establish subsequent to the above date of August 19, 1824.

Resolved, That the Resident Agent cause to be printed two thousand copies of the Constitution, Government and Laws, of the Colony of Liberia, as established by this Board at Washington, 23d of May, 1825.

JAMES LAURIE, *Acting President.*

R. R. GURLEY, *Resident Agent.*

CONSTITUTION

For the Government of the African Colony at Liberia.

ARTICLE I. All persons born within the limits of the Territory held by the American Colonization Society, in Liberia, in Africa, or removing there to reside, shall be free, and entitled to all such rights and privileges as are enjoyed by the citizens of the United States.

ARTICLE II. The Colonization Society shall, from time to time, make such rules as they may think fit for the government of the settlement, until they shall withdraw their Agents, and leave the settlers to the government of themselves.

ARTICLE III. The Society's Agents shall compose a Board, to determine all questions relative to the government of the settlement, shall decide all disputes between individuals, and shall exercise all judicial power, except such as they shall delegate to Justices of the Peace.

ARTICLE IV. The Agents shall appoint all officers not appointed by the Managers, necessary for the good order and government of the settlement.

ARTICLE V. There shall be no slavery in the settlement.

ARTICLE VI. The common law, as in force and modified in the United States, and applicable to the situation of the people, shall be in force in the settlement.

ARTICLE VII. Every settler coming to the age of twenty-one years, and those now of age, shall take an oath or affirmation, to support this Constitution.

ARTICLE VIII. In cases of necessity, where no rule has been made by the Board of Managers, the Agents are authorized to make the necessary rules and regulations, of which they shall, by the first opportunity, inform the Board for their approbation; and they shall continue in force, until the Board shall send out their decision upon them.

ARTICLE IX. This Constitution is not to interfere with the jurisdiction, rights and claims of the Agents of the United States, over the captured Africans and others, under their care and control, so long as they shall reside within the limits of the settlement.

ARTICLE X. No alteration shall be made in this Constitution, except by the unanimous consent of all present, at a regular meeting of the Board of Managers, or by a vote of two-thirds of the Members present at two successive meetings of the Board of Managers.

The Board received from the Colonial Agent, Mr. Ashmun, early in last year, a Plan of Government, exhibiting several deviations from the form sketched in 1824, but in its principles the same. These deviations, Mr. Ashmun remarks, "have grown gradually out of the altered and improving state of the Colony, and are neither the offspring of a rash spirit of experiment, nor have they been made without evident necessity." At a meeting of the Board of Managers, October 22d, 1828, it was determined to consider the revised Constitution or form of Government, submitted by Mr. Ashmun, and after due deliberation, it was

Resolved, That the Constitution as modified by the Colonial Agent, Mr. Ashmun, as now in operation, be hereby adopted.

[See this modified Constitution, Sixteenth Annual Report, p. 31.]

Office of the American Colonization Society,

WASHINGTON, JANUARY 30, 1834.

At a meeting of the Board of Managers held this day, the following resolutions were adopted:

1. *Resolved*, That the fourth article of the Plan of Civil Government for the Colony of Liberia be so amended as to read for "two," "six" counsellors; this amendment not to take effect until the next annual election in the Colony; and that the other articles be so altered as to correspond with this and other amendments which may now be made.

2. *Resolved*, That the Agent, or (in his absence) the Vice Agent, together with the aforesaid six counsellors, shall constitute a council, who shall meet on the first

Monday of January and July of each year, and at such other times as the Agent shall deem expedient. The Agent, or, in his absence, the Vice Agent shall preside at all their meetings. They shall have power to lay taxes, impose duties, make appropriations of public monies, fix the salaries of all officers to be paid out of the funds to be raised in the Colony, and enact such laws as they may deem necessary for the general welfare, subject, however, to the approval of the Colonial Agent and the Board of Managers. Should any law be passed by the council and disapproved by the Agent, he shall state to the council his reasons for disapproval; and should it then be passed unanimously by the council, it shall remain in force until the Board of Managers shall pronounce their decision upon it.

3. *Resolved*, That from and after the first day of May next, any officer or Agent of the Society or Colony, who shall be supplied with articles of living from the public stores, shall be charged on the books of the Colony, twenty-five per cent. advance upon the original cost and freight of such articles.

4. *Resolved*, That; from and after the first day of August next, the Colonial Agent, Physician, Assistant Physicians, Colonial Secretary and Storekeeper only shall derive support from the Society: [that such support shall consist exclusively of the salaries hereafter mentioned;]* and such officers as the Colonial Council may deem necessary, shall be paid out of the funds raised in the Colony; and that from and after the first day of May next, the following salaries be allowed the said officers respectively, in full compensation of their services—that is to say,

For the Agent, in addition to the amount allowed by the Government of the United States,	\$1400
For the Physician,	1600
For the Colonial Secretary,	600
For the Storekeeper,	400

THE PLAN OF CIVIL GOVERNMENT FOR THE COLONY OF LIBERIA,

As modified by Mr. Ashmun and by the foregoing resolutions, is as follows:

The necessity of a mild, just and efficient Civil Government, for the preservation of individual and political rights among any people, and the advancement of true prosperity, induces the Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society to adopt, after mature consideration, the following system of Government, for the proper regulation of public affairs in the Colony of Liberia:

ARTICLE I. The Agent of the American Colonization Society, resident in the Colony, possesses within the same, sovereign power, subject only to the Constitution, the chartered rights of the citizens, and the decisions of the Board.

ARTICLE II. All male colored people, who have subscribed the oath to support the Constitution, and drawn and not forfeited lands in the Colony, shall be entitled to vote for, and be eligible to the civil offices of the Colony.

ARTICLE III. The Civil Officers of the Colony shall be appointed annually; and the polls for the general annual election of the Colony, shall be opened on the last Tuesday in August, and continue open not more than three, nor less than two successive days, in the different settlements. Elections shall be organized by the Sheriff, by the appointment in each settlement, of a President, two Judges, and two Clerks.

ARTICLE IV. The Colonial Officers eligible by the annual suffrage of the freeholders, in which the Agent has the right to interpose his negative, assigning to the voters in time to renew the choice at the same election, his reason for such interposition are, *for the Colony*, a Vice Agent, six Counsellors, a High Sheriff, a Register, and a Treasurer; and for each of the settlements consisting of not less than sixty families, two Commissioners of Agriculture, two Commissioners to form a Board of Health, and two Censors.

ARTICLE V. The Vice Agent shall be admitted to the counsels of the Agent in all important matters; and shall express an opinion on all questions submitted to

* The words in brackets were added, as declaratory, by a Resolution of the Board, April 24, 1834; and the resolution thus amended, was communicated to the Colonial Agent by letter, dated May 15, 1834. (See *African Repository*, Vol. 10, page 98.)

his consideration. He shall aid the Agent in the discharge of his various duties, and in the support and execution of the laws; and in the event of the Agent's absence, or sickness, the Vice Agent shall become the General Superintendent of Public Affairs.

ARTICLE VI. The Agent, or (in his absence) the Vice Agent, together with the aforesaid six counsellors, shall constitute a council, who shall meet on the first Monday of January and July of each year, and at such other times as the Agent shall deem expedient. The Agent, or in his absence, the Vice Agent, shall preside at all their meetings. They shall have power to lay taxes, impose duties, make appropriations of public monies, fix the salaries of all officers to be paid out of the funds to be raised in the Colony, and enact such laws as they may deem necessary for the general welfare, subject, however, to the approval of the Colonial Agent and Board of Managers. Should any law be passed by the council, and disapproved by the Agent, he shall state to the council his reasons for disapproval; and should it then be passed unanimously by the council, it shall remain in force until the Board of Managers shall pronounce their decision upon it.

ARTICLE VII. The duty of the Counsellors shall also be, to aid the Agent, or Vice Agent, with their advice and counsel, on subjects relating to the general welfare of the Colony, whenever thereto requested by either.

ARTICLE VIII. The High Sheriff shall, either by himself or his deputies, aid in the organization of elections, act as Marshall for the Government of the Colony, execute all processes, judgments, and commands of the Court of Sessions, and perform, generally, the services required of the same Officer, by the common laws of England and the United States.

ARTICLE IX. The Secretary of the Colony shall take charge of, and carefully keep all the papers, records and archives of the Colony, generally; shall attend and exactly record the doings of the Agent in council; shall publish all the ordinances, and legal enactments of the Government; publish Government notices; issue the Agent's orders, civil, military, and judicial, to the proper functionaries; deliver a fair copy of Government papers necessary to be recorded, to the Register of the Colony; and manage its internal correspondence, on the part and under the directions of the Agent.

ARTICLE X. The Register shall record all documents and instruments relating to the security and title of public or individual property; Government grants, patents, licences, contracts and commissions, and all other papers which are properly a matter of record, and to which the Government of the Colony shall be a party.

Every volume of records when completed, shall be delivered by the Register to the Secretary of the Colony, for preservation, among the archives of the Colony.

ARTICLE XI. The Treasurer of the Colony shall receive and safely keep all the monies, and public securities required by law, or the judgment of courts, to be deposited in the Public Treasury, and shall deliver up, and pay over the same, only to a requisition signed by the Agent, or Vice Agent of the Colony; to whom he shall render a statement of the public finances on the Monday preceding the annual election of the Colony.

ARTICLE XII. The Commissioners of Agriculture shall report, and serve as the organ of the Government, on all subjects relating to the Agriculture of the Colony.

The Commissioners composing the Board of Health, shall report, and serve as the organ of the Government, on all subjects relating to the health of the Colony; shall ascertain the proper objects of medical attention; report nuisances prejudicial to the public health, direct their removal, and make themselves generally active in diminishing the sufferings and dangers of the settlers caused by sickness.

Each of these Committees shall record, for the future use of the Colony, all important observations and facts relating to the subjects of their charge.

ARTICLE XIII. The two Censors shall act as conservators of the public morals, and promoters of the public industry; and be obliged to all the duties, and invested with all the legal powers, on whatever relates to the public morals and industry, which are lawfully required of, and possessed by grand jurors, in such parts of the United States as recognize such auxiliaries to their magistracy.

It shall be the special duty of those officers to ascertain in what way every person in their proper districts, acquires a livelihood; to report or present idlers; detect vicious or suspected practices; and present for legal investigation and cure, every actual or probable evil, growing out of the immoralities, either of a portion of the community, or of individuals.

ARTICLE XIV. The Judiciary of the Colony shall consist of the Agent and a

competent number of Justices of the Peace, created by his appointment. The Justices shall have cognizance of all cases affecting the peace, and of all criminal cases within the definition of *petit larceny*, and all actions of debt not exceeding twenty dollars. In the court of Monthly Sessions, whether acting as a court of law; or a court of equity, the Agent or Vice Agent shall preside, and the Justices to be his associates.

The court of Monthly Sessions shall have original jurisdiction in all actions of debt, in which the amount in litigation shall exceed twenty dollars; and in criminal causes above the degree of *petit larceny*, and shall have appellate jurisdiction in all civil causes whatsoever.

The requisite number of Constables for the Colony shall be appointed by the Agent annually.

A Clerk and a Crier of the Court of Sessions shall also be appointed by the said Court, annually.

An Auctioneer, who shall conduct all auction sales, except those of the Sheriff and Constables in pursuance of the judgment of the Courts of the Colony, shall also be created by annual appointment of the Agent.

A Storekeeper, Librarian, Commissary of Ordnance, to be appointed by the Agent, shall be respected and obeyed in matters belonging to their respective functions, as officers of the Colony.

Instructors in all public schools having the sanction of a public charter, or participating in any degree in the public funds, shall be appointed and employed by the regular school committees of the Colony, but with the Agent's approbation and concurrence.

All Custom, Port, Infirmary, Medical, Guard and Police Officers, not appointed by the Managers of the Colonization Society, and whose services are required and defined by the laws of the Colony, together with the public Measurers, Inspectors and Appraisers, shall be appointed by the Agent of the Colony.

ARTICLE XV. The Militia of the Colony, shall consist wholly of such uniformed Volunteer Corps as shall obtain charters under the Government of the Colony; of which charters, the following shall be fundamental articles:

1st. That the corps shall always comply with any requisitions for their services, either wholly or in part, made by the Executive Government of the Colony.

2d. That the corps shall ever preserve and hold themselves and their arms and equipments in a state of readiness for actual service, at the shortest notice.

3d. That the Officers be commissioned by the Agent; and

4th. That they shall muster, parade, and serve in the line of the Colony, under General Officers, when thereto required by the Executive Government.

General Officers shall be appointed by the Agent; and when especial reasons do not forbid, shall be taken from the Officers of the several corps, and promoted according to rank, and the seniority of their commissions.

All Military Officers and delinquencies, shall be tried by a General Court Martial, to be composed, except the Officers and Guards of the court, of Commissioned Officers; and to sit quarterly.

[For a digest of the Laws of the Colony, see the Appendix of the Twelfth Report, page 28.]

FORM OF BEQUESTS TO THE COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

In some instances, objections have been raised against legacies to the Society, on the ground of its not being an incorporated company. In order that benevolent individuals may execute their wishes in favor of the Institution in a manner secure from cavil, we subjoin from the Eighth Annual Report, page 51, an extract from a will, which was prepared by a Professional Gentleman, whose abilities, learning, and reputation, are not surpassed by those of any other in the Union.

The attention of the friends of Colonization is earnestly invited to it; and those who design making bequests in favor of the Society, are solicited to follow it strictly, *taking care to substitute for the names of the President and Managers given in the extract, the names of the President and Managers for the time being:*

Extract from the last Will and Testament (dated the 16th April, 1822,) of Miss Elizabeth Lee Jones, formerly of Northumberland, afterwards of Fairfax, in Virginia: who died at the seat of her brother, Captain Thomas ap Catesby Jones, in Fairfax, on the day of 1822.

"4. I give and devise to Bushrod Washington, Francis S. Key, Walter Jones, the Rev. Dr. S. B. Balch, the Rev. O. B. Brown, the Rev. Dr. W. Wilmer, the Rev. Dr. James Laurie, the Rev. W. Hawley, the Rev. Henry Foxall, Dr. W. Thornton, Thomas Dougherty, Henry Aslton, Elias B. Caldwell, John Underwood, and Richard Smith, the present President and Board of Managers of the American Society for colonizing the free people of color of the United States; and to the survivors and survivor of them, and to their assigns, all the slaves now belonging to me, or whereof I shall die possessed; and the future issue and increase of the same; in trust for the following purposes and uses, to wit: 1st. To be held at the absolute disposal, and under the control and direction of the said Society, or of the Acting Managers of the same for the time being: so as such disposal, control and direction, be in furtherance and execution of the plan of colonization now adopted and pursued by the said Society; or of the same plan under such modifications, as the said Society may, in its wisdom, hereafter institute and establish; embracing, within the authority and intent of the said trust, any plan for the preparatory education and discipline of the intended colonists, which the said Society, or the said Acting Managers, under its authority, may institute: the said slaves, and the future increase and issue of the same, to be held, at all times hereafter, subject to the orders and disposal of the said Society, or of the Acting Managers of the same, for the purposes, either of colonization and complete emancipation, or of such preparatory education and discipline as aforesaid. And in the case of the death, resignation or removal to an inconvenient distance of any of the said trustees to whom the said slaves are devised as aforesaid, or for any other cause deemed sufficient by the said Society, or by the said Acting Managers of the same, they the said trustees, or such of them as remain or survive, shall or may either assign over the said trust entirely, or admit into a participation of such trust, by special assignment, such person or persons, as may be appointed by said Society, or by the said Acting Managers thereof.

"2d. But as it is uncertain when the said Society, or the said Acting Managers thereof, may be in a condition to assume upon themselves the practical execution of the said trust, it is therefore my will and desire, that, in the mean time, until the said Society, or such Acting Managers, shall see fit to interpose and call for the said slaves, or any of them, in order to be disposed of in furtherance and execution of the said trust; the said slaves, or such of them as may not be called for as aforesaid, shall serve my relations, and shall be appointed among them as follows." [Here follow particular allotments of the several negroes amongst the relatives of the testatrix.] "Such services being given upon the express condition, and with an implicit reliance upon the *honor* and *good faith* of my said relations, that the said slaves respectively allotted to them, shall receive such moral and religious instruction, and be so habituated to the useful arts of domestic life, as to prepare them, as well as circumstances will allow, for their ultimate destination of emancipated colonists; and, in particular, that the *children* be reared with a view to that destination."

[Here follow some provisions for certain of the negroes who were thought too old for colonization.]

"And as to the boy Davy, son of Nancy, it is my earnest wish and recommendation to the trustees herein before named, and to my executor, that he be immediately put to school, on some public foundation, in order to be educated as a Missionary to Africa, or as a Minister of the Gospel to be settled in the proposed Colony in Africa, under the patronage of the said Society; and if it be found impracticable to get him admitted into any public school, then that the best and

speediest arrangement be made for placing him in the family of some Minister of the Gospel, upon condition of his receiving the necessary instruction to fit him for such Ministry among the people of his own class."

"3d. If it shall so happen that the said Colonization Society, or the Acting Managers of the same, shall not find it expedient within ten years after my decease, to execute the trust herein before declared, in regard to the colonization of the said slaves: then I do hereby declare and desire, that after they shall have respectively served the persons to whom I have devised their services, as herein before declared, for the space of ten years from my decease, they shall be absolutely and unconditionally emancipated and free; reserving, as before, to the said trustees and their assigns, under the direction of the said Society, or of the Acting Managers of the same, full and unlimited discretion and authority, at any time within the said ten years, to withdraw the said slaves, or any of them, from such service, and forthwith to emancipate and colonize them; or subject them to such preparatory course of education and discipline, as is herein before provided."

[From the Journal of Freedom, New Haven, (Conn.) October 8, 1834.]

ACCURACY.

The Emancipator, which journal is an official organ of the American Anti-Slavery Society, introduced Mr. Birney's letter with the following statement:

LETTER OF HON. J. G. BIRNEY.

As the writer of the following letter is not extensively known in [the Eastern States, it is deemed proper to state, that in the South-west, he has maintained the highest standing, both as a citizen, a christian, and a professional man. A native of Kentucky, and connected by birth and marriage with most of the leading families of the State; he resided 15 years in Alabama, and was in the way to its highest honors. He was Solicitor General, had the offer of a seat on the bench of the Supreme Court, and was appointed by the Legislature to nominate, at his sole discretion, the Faculty of the State University. Since his return to Kentucky, he has been offered the Professorship of Political Economy, Rhetoric and Belles Lettres, in Centre College, at Danville.

Here the reader will notice, first, a general statement, supported by specifications. The general statement is undoubtedly correct, at least sufficiently correct for the careless writing of newspaper editorials. Mr. Birney is a man of eminent standing in "both" of the *three* respects mentioned, viz: "as a citizen, a christian, and a professional man." But notice the specifications.

1. Mr. Birney is the "*Hon. J. G. Birney.*"

2. He belongs by birth and marriage to the aristocracy of Kentucky.

3. He has resided fifteen years in Alabama.

4. He was in the way to the highest honors of that state.

5. He was Solicitor General of Alabama.

6. He had the offer of a seat on the bench of the Supreme Court of Alabama.

7. He was appointed, *by the legislature* to nominate, *at his own discretion*, the Faculty of the State University of Alabama.

8. Since his return to Kentucky, he has been offered the Professor-

ship of Political Economy, Rhetoric, and Belles Lettres, in Centre College at Danville.

These eight specifications include every particular assertion made by the Editor of the *Emancipator*; and how many of the eight, think you, are true in manner and form as alleged? Mr. Birney has thought proper to answer this question, in the following letter to the *Emancipator*.

DANVILLE, (Ky.) Sept. 7, 1834.

To the Editor of the Emancipator:

In your remarks, prefixed to my letter addressed to Mr. Mills of Kentucky on the subject of colonization, and republished in your paper of August 26, you have been led into some errors, which I trust, you will enable me, through the same channel, to correct.

1. At no time, during my residence in Alabama, did I hold the office of Solicitor [Attorney] General; nor any other, which, according to the style of address used in the West and Southwest, would entitle me to the *prefix* of 'Honorable' to my name. The mistake in relation to the office of Attorney General, originated, doubtless, in the fact of my having held for a few years, that of *Solicitor*, in one of the Judicial Circuits of that State.

2. Neither did I have the offer of a seat on the bench of the Supreme Court of that State. This station—had I been rash enough to have aspired to it, under any circumstances—would, at any period in the last ten years of my residence there, have been closed against me; because of my unpopular political opinions and personal preferences, and of my open support of some of the benevolent operations of our day, against which strong prejudice existed in the minds of a large majority of the people and of their representatives in the legislature.

3. I was not appointed by the legislature with power to nominate, at my sole discretion, the Faculty of the State University. Being one of the Trustees, who are elected by the legislature, I was appointed by their *Board*, to visit any part of the United States, at my discretion—that I might obtain the names of distinguished gentlemen, who would consent to occupy, if afterward elected, the Presidency of that Institution, and the Professorship of Ancient Languages and Literature.

4. Since my return to this State, there has been no *official* or *formal* offer to me of the Professorship of Political Economy, Rhetoric and Belles Lettres in Centre College. It was, I believe, the understanding of the Board of Trustees, of which I am myself a member, that, during the absence of Professor Green [who filled the above chair] in Europe, whither he was so soon to depart, and where, it was expected, he would remain some eighteen months or two years, I should be elected, *ad interim*, to his station, with the inducement, that my situation in the college would, almost without doubt, be made permanent. About the time Professor Green's duties in the college were to cease, previously to his setting out, *Abolition* began to be much talked of, and its progress deprecated. I thought it not improbable, that my decided opinions on this subject might, if fully known to the rest of the Trustees, have some influence on their minds in reference to the station I was about to assume in the college. I therefore, [being necessarily absent myself, at this juncture,] left it to the discretion of President Young, to whom my opinions on slavery and abolition were fully known, whether or not, he would bring them up to the consideration of the other Trustees, before I should become formally connected with the institution. This he thought it his duty to do; and so far as I have been informed, it was the unanimous opinion of those he consulted, that my connection with the college as a Professor, under such circumstances, would be injurious to it, especially in the estimation of the slaveholding community upon which it had chiefly to rely for pupils. As I voluntarily submitted the case to these gentlemen, I have made no complaint of their decision. It has made no alteration in my friendly feelings towards them—nor, as I believe, in theirs towards me.

If the circumstances by which I have been surrounded, *being true*, have a tendency to advance me in the estimation of your readers, and to give an extrinsic importance to any of my opinions or arguments—the correction of these, by presenting myself in my proper attitude, will, so far from being thought unnecessary, be considered, I trust, as due to myself and to the cause of truth.

I remain very respectfully,

J. G. BIRNEY

Mr WILLIAM GODDELL, New-York.

So out of eight particulars alleged as facts by the Editor of the *Emancipator*, only two remain uncontradicted by Mr. Birney; and those are, the fact that by birth and marriage he is connected with the first families of his native state, and the fact that he has resided fifteen years in Alabama.

The correctness or incorrectness of the *Emancipator's* statement, is of no consequence whatever, except as showing how perilous it is to receive, as a matter of fact, any thing, the truth of which depends on the accuracy of that paper.

If the Editor will make such mistakes in telling a simple story about Mr. Birney, what credit shall be given to his statements about Liberia, the Colonization Society, Mr. Finley, or the New-York riots?

LIBERIA PROSPERING.

Interesting Intelligence.

NEW-YORK, December 18.

We have at length advices from our friends who sailed from this port in the *Jupiter*, last June, for the African Colony of Liberia.—They arrived out, all well, in forty days, and were landed at Monrovia. The *Liberia Herald*, of September 26th, contains much interesting intelligence, some of which is more cheering from the Colony than any we have ever before had the pleasure of extracting from the *Colonial Journal*. The following letter from Josiah F. C. Finley, Esq., under the patronage of the Ladies' Society, will cheer the hearts of the friends of the noble and sacred cause of Colonization, and we beg leave to commend this letter, from a man of character, and truth, writing on the spot, to the attention of those well-intentioned citizens of this country, who have been deceived by the countless misrepresentations of the opponents of the Colonization Society:—

To Messrs. Robert Stanton, and McMasters,
Students of Cincinnati, Ohio, Lane Seminary:

MY DEAR FRIENDS—We arrived here safely, after a pleasant voyage of forty days, on the last day of July last. My highest hopes, my brightest expectations, are fully, and in most things, more than realized.

I have never met with but *one* more flourishing town in Ohio or Indiana, nor have I met with a *single* town in any part of your country where the people were more moral or temperate, or enterprising, or were more strict in their observance of the Sabbath, than the people of Monrovia. Here is a climate congenial to the constitutions of those citizens who have lived here a year or two, and their children who have been born here—a soil far more fertile than any in the Eastern or middle divisions of the United States. Here *all* the necessaries, and very many of the luxuries of life, may be raised with one-half or one-fourth of the labor which they would require in your country. Almost every thing I see, raises Liberia so much in my estimation, that I feel as confident as I do of my existence, that if my personal and christian friend, who announced to the large audience in Chatham street Chapel, New-York, in May last, that the funeral knell of the Colonization Society had tolled, and who in the exuberant joy of his soul, eloquently pronounced

its eulogy, or perhaps, I might more properly say, its funeral maledictory benediction, will come out and examine this country, and this infant Republic for himself, that in less than two months he will become as ardent an advocate for the Colonization Society as any your country can produce. All this, my dear friends, is strictly and literally true, and yet Liberia is not what it may, nor what it ought to be. We have no college here. We have not so many thoroughly educated teachers as we ought to have. We want a greater variety and larger supply of seeds—we want one or two manufactories—we want aid in building school houses and churches. If the American public should, as in duty bound, furnish us with these, and assist none in coming here who are not temperate, moral, and enterprising, there are those now living who will see the day when this country will equal at least the present prosperity of the United States. I would like to write more, but have not time. May I not hope soon to see you in this country. You can come here with as much safety as you can go to the newly settled parts of Mississippi.

Ever yours,

JOSIAH F. C. FINLEY.

Monrovia, Liberia, August 9th, 1834.

The same paper contains a valuable communication from Dr. Skinner, who has gone to the Colony as Physician, in regard to the unhealthiness of the town of Monrovia, and making a variety of important suggestions for the sanitary improvement of its condition.—The difficulty has arisen from the fact that the town was built in a low position, where it does not receive the advantage of the *direct* breezes from the ocean. It is believed by Dr. Skinner, that the building of a house upon a commanding situation, which he points out, for the reception of strangers until they are acclimated, will disarm the atmosphere of its terrors.

The annual election has recently taken place, and certificates of election are inserted in the Herald.

The Herald of the 19th, mentions the arrival of the Jupiter, with passengers, medical men, and clergymen, for the Colony. The Jupiter left Monrovia soon afterwards, and was entirely lost on the coast in a storm, N. W. of Manna River. Crew saved.

Rev. Colston M. Waring, Pastor of the First Baptist Church, died on the 12th of August.

AUXILIARY SOCIETIES:

We have just been furnished with a list of Officers and Managers of the WASHINGTON COLONIZATION SOCIETY, and with a Report of its proceedings at its last meeting. The list and Report are as follows:

OFFICERS.

M. ST. CLAIR CLARK, *President.*

DOCTOR THOMAS SEWALL,

DOCTOR THOMAS P. JONES,

WILLIAM HEWITT,

} *Vice Presidents.*

Managers.

DARIUS CLAGETT,

S. J. TODD,

JOHN P. INGLE,

COL. SAMUEL BURCH.

DOCTOR JAMES C. HALL,

ZACCHEUS C. LEE,

GIDEON PEARCE,

WILLIAM MECHLIN, *Treasurer*

JOSIAH F. POLK, *Secretary*

The Society met in Trinity Church on Monday evening, the 27th of January, 1834. A general invitation having been given, the meeting was large.

The Society having been called to order, and after a prayer by the Rev. Doctor Laurie, the meeting was addressed by Elliott Cresson, John Coyle, Z. C. Lee, and David A. Hall, in support of the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted, viz:

Resolved, That this meeting proceed forthwith to subscribe \$1,000 in donations, or to be paid in five annual instalments, in accordance with a resolution adopted by the Parent Society at its late annual meeting, to raise \$50,000, to meet the exigencies of the Society.

The sum of \$1,124, was then subscribed.

The Rev. Mr. Gurley then addressed the meeting, and was followed by the Rev. Mr. Hawley, in support of the following resolution, which was also adopted unanimously, viz:

Resolved, That this meeting recommend to every Church in the District, to make a subscription in furtherance of the proposition, to raise \$50,000, for the use of the American Colonization Society.

A letter from the Rev. WILLIAM M. ATKINSON, of Petersburg, Va. was read to the meeting, shewing the light in which the projects of the Anti-Slavery Societies are viewed by the people of Virginia, and contrasting the efforts making by the people of that State to put an end to Slavery, with those of the Abolitionists, &c.

A Brief Review of the First Annual Report of the American Anti-Slavery Society, with the speeches delivered at the Anniversary Meeting, May 6th, 1834, addressed to the People of the United States, by DAVID M. REESE, M. D., of New-York.

The Author of this Pamphlet has been for some time past a bold and active and vigorous supporter of the American Colonization Society. He has taken from the arduous duties of his profession, a large share of time that he might bring the claims of this cause before the American People. He has entered into the work, from a deep sense of its importance, as a Patriotic and Christian enterprise of vast magnitude and promise. His opposition to the extravagances of the most wild and furious advocates of entire and instant abolition has been firm and fearless. In this pamphlet, he has shown the dangerous tendency of their principles and measures. He has expressed his sentiments with vivacity, and in some cases, perhaps, with a less restrained and guarded severity than perfect discretion would have dictated. But it must be recollected that he published his views at a time of prodigious excitement, and when the friends of the people of color, and of the Federal Union at the North, felt bound to speak out in decided tones against doctrines, which, however honestly entertained, menaced the general welfare of the colored population and the peace of the country. We understand that this pamphlet has been extensively circulated and made a powerful im-

pression. It is written with that force and spirit which distinguish the public addresses of its author. We might dissent from some of the opinions of Dr. Reese, yet he has exposed very clearly and conclusively the errors which lie at the foundation of the hostile designs against the Colonization Society. After reviewing the Report of the Anti-Slavery Society, and the speeches made at its Anniversary Meeting, and alluding to the causes which led to the disgraceful attempt to put down the Abolitionists in the City of New-York, Dr. Reese, near the close of his pamphlet, has the following remarks :

“ Surely every citizen must feel a personal degradation in these shameful outrages, which nothing can justify, nor even excuse. However exceptionable and even offensive were the meetings of the Anti-Slavery Society, however dangerous their principles and mischievous their tendency, yet in a government of laws, the liberty of speech and of the press belongs to every citizen, subject only to the restraints and penalties of the law. Any combination designed by brute force to inflict summary vengeance by a band of outlaws, is to be deprecated as an infinitely greater evil, than the causes which are made the pretext of such enormities. And accordingly, the perpetrators of these deeds of violence, who were arrested in the act, have been already subjected to the penalties of the violated law; and a lesson has been thus taught to those who have escaped detection, which will doubtless deter them from a repetition of such offences.

“ It is a venerated maxim, that ‘ freedom of opinion may be safely tolerated on any subject, while reason is left free to combat it.’ And with reference to the doctrines and measures of the Anti-Slavery Society, no force is needed but the power of *truth*. We have animadverted freely upon their official publications, believing, as we do, that they contain sentiments which are dangerous to our country in its political, social, and religious relations; and, as we have a right to do, we have attempted to prove that in their zeal for abstract principles, they have committed violence upon the majesty of truth. The public measures they propose are legitimately subject to criticism, as are also all the arguments and means they use to propagate their doctrines.

“ In exposing the errors they have committed, in detecting the misrepresentations and falsehoods into which they have fallen, and in warning our countrymen of the mischievous and dangerous tendency of this society, which we regard as an Anti-American conspiracy against human rights and human liberty; we have aimed to do no injustice to the Society, or to individuals; while at the same time we have fearlessly expressed our sentiments, with the warmth and earnestness which our convictions of truth and duty inspire. And now, in conclusion, we submit to the people of the United States the opinions we entertain on this important subject, with the reasons on which those opinions are founded, which though briefly expressed, are, we hope, sufficiently intelligible. It remains for every American citizen to form his own conclusions as respects his individual duty, whether to favor the doctrine of immediate abolition as a remedy for slavery, without regard to consequences; or to withhold from the Anti-Slavery Society any countenance or patronage. And in the event of the latter conclusion being adopted, as Americans and as Christians, we present to them the American Colonization Society, as being strictly national in its character; supremely benevolent in its designs; wholly peaceable in its measures; and unexceptionable in its tendency;— whether viewed as the only safe and practicable method of promoting the abolition of slavery in this country; or as a plan for the elevation of the colored race in the land of their forefathers, where the God of nature designed them to be the lords of the soil; or as a means of introducing the lights of Christianity and kindling the fires of civilization upon that continent of heathenism.”

CONTRIBUTIONS

To the Amer. Colonization Society in the Month of December, 1834.

Gerrit Smith's first Plan of Subscription.

Nicholas Brown, Providence, Rhode Island,	- - - - -	\$100
Thomas Buffington, Guyandot, Virginia,	- - - - -	100

Collections in Churches.

Aurora, Portage county, Ohio, Presbyterian Church, by Rev. John Seward,	- - - - -	8
Brandywine, Chester county, by Rev. J. N. C. Grier,	- - - - -	12 38
Canonsburg, Pa. Presbyterian Church, by Rev. Dr. M. Brown,	- - - - -	12
Chillicothe, after an Address by C. Moore,	- - - - -	6 64
Columbus, Pa., by the Rev. John H. Symmes,	- - - - -	10
Derry, Pa., by Rev. James R. Sharon,	- - - - -	14 35
Fagg's Manor, Chester county, Pa., Presbyterian Church, by Rev. R. White,	- - - - -	13 13
Hammondsport, Steuben county, N. Y., by Rev. E. O. Flyng,	- - - - -	2
Lycoming, Pa., by Rev. J. H. Greer,	- - - - -	10 91
Newark, New York, by Rev. Marcus Ford,	- - - - -	9
New London, Chester county, Pa., by Rev. R. Graham,	- - - - -	6 83
Newtown, Bucks county, Pa., by Rev. Alex. Boyd, for 1833,	- - - - -	7 55
Northumberland, Pa. Unitarian Church, by Rev. James Kay,	- - - - -	9 32
Oswego, New York, by the Rev. Charles White,	- - - - -	16
Penn Yan, Yates county, New York, by Rev. Wilber Hoag,	- - - - -	5
Pine Creek, Pa., Presbyterian Church, by Rev. J. H. Greer,	- - - - -	10 91
Salem and Blairsville, Presbyterian Church, by Rev. Thomas Davis,	- - - - -	10
Steubenville, Presbyterian Church, by Rev. C. C. Beatty,	- - - - -	10 63
Washington City, St. John's Church, by Rev. William Hawley,	- - - - -	10 50

Auxiliary Societies.

Israel Township, Preble county, Ohio, by Rev. Nathan Brown, Treasurer,	188
Mississippi, Presbytery, their first payment towards \$1,000, pledged in February, 1834,	150
Ohio State Society, by L. Reynolds, Treasurer,	147 32
Pittsgrove, New Jersey, Female Society, by Mrs. Janvier, Treasurer,	10
Romney, Va., Auxiliary Society,	11 67
Tioga county, East Jury District, New York, by Charles P. Pexley, Treasurer,	50

Donations.

Albany, Richard V. Dewitt and John T. Norton, each \$60,	120
Benjamin F. Butler,	50
Edward C. Delevan, Edw. H. Delevan, Packard and Van Benthysen, and James Gibbons, each \$30,	120
John S. Welch, John Woodworth and N. Wright, each \$15,	45
William Adams,	10
Sandford Cobb, Edw. Wilkins, E. W. Skinner G. W. Newell, Joseph Davis, and G. W. German, each \$5,	30
A. Sikes, \$3, E. Alond and John Ewarts, each \$2,	7
H. Blackman, and S. Brownlee, each \$1,	2
New York, Joseph Brewster, (omitted by mistake in the December No. of the Repository,)	100
Ohio, from several individuals, by C. Moore,	3 36
Romney, Va., from Willham H. Foote,	3 32
Sullivan county, Tennessee, from sundry individuals,	6 75
Washington City, Henry Head,	2 50

African Repository.

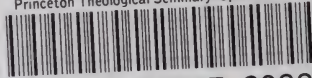
Nathan Brown,	2 00
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